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EDITORIAL

As a companion piece to last quarter's discussion on "Peace and War in the Old Testament," Professor Hershberger presents in this issue of the Review, his discussion on "Peace and War in the New Testament." This is a comprehensive discussion of the New Testament doctrine of nonresistance based upon the two great New Testament concepts of the new covenant of grace and the kingdom of God. These two articles, which will constitute two chapters in a new book, *Peace, War, and Nonresistance,* to be published soon by the Peace Problems Committee of the Mennonite Church, give a thorough, unified, and systematic presentation of the Bible teaching on war and peace.

The two articles by Robert Friedmann and W. J. Kuhler give accounts of some of the earliest relief work done by European Mennonites. "The Adventures of an Anabaptist in Turkey, 1607-1610," tells the moving but sad story of the all but fruitless attempts of a simple, devoted Hutterian lay brother to rescue Hutterian captive sisters from Turkish harems. Seldom has such a touching and inspiring story of heroic, self-sacrificing love and devotion been told from the annals of Anabaptist history, or indeed from the whole seventeenth century history with its brutality and bloodshed. The story is based entirely on an unpublished codex of Hutterian documents. The brief survey of "Dutch Mennonite Relief Work in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," by Professor W. J. Kühler of the Mennonite Seminary in Amsterdam, is here published in English translation from a German paper read at the Mennonite World Relief Conference held in Danzig in 1930. While, as a popular address it omits many details and the citation of the sources, it is based on the rich resources of the Mennonite Library at Amsterdam and is historically reliable. The Review hopes to bring additional historical articles on Mennonite relief work in coming issues.

After publication of the Gerhard Hein biography of Scharnschlager in the last issue of the Review, the editors decided on request to make available the two extant letters by Scharnschlager published by Hein in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* in 1939, in view of their significance for Anabaptist theology. They add to the growing but still limited store of theological documents of the Swiss Brethren of the sixteenth century.

For some time requests have come in for a Comprehensive Index to the Mennonite Quarterly Review. Such an index is made available in this number of the Review, covering all the material published in the sixteen volumes from 1927 to 1942 inclusive, and also the one volume predecessor of the Review, The Goshen College Record Review Supplement (1926). Our thanks are due to Nelson Springer, whose painstaking labor produced this valuable index.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Vol. XVII No. 2

PEACE AND WAR IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

GUY F. HERSHBERGER

THE NEW COVENANT AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

The prophets of the old covenant had declared that war and bloodshed were contrary to the will of God. The gospels tell us of John the Baptist who was "more than a prophet."[1] A prophet is one who proclaims the Word of God; but John was more than a prophet because he introduced Christ, the Word of God in person. Jesus the Messiah, the incarnate God through whom all things were made, had come into the world with divine and absolute authority from heaven that all who receive Him might become the children of God.[2] It was He who inaugurated the new covenant in which the moral law is fulfilled and all human relations are restored to their rightful place.

The great mission of Christ was to bring men into the kingdom of God, to give them eternal life. When men came to inquire the way to eternal life He immediately referred them to the fundamental moral law, the ten commandments.[3] When they inquired further He explained that the law consists of two parts: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart" and "Thou shalt love thy neigh-

[1] Mt. 11:9 [2] Jn. 1:1-12. [3] Mt. 19:16.

bour as thyself";[4] and when they inquired still further He made it clear that this love which brings men into the kingdom of God can come about only through the supernatural work of regeneration.[5] If we love God and our fellow men it is because He first loved us, "and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins."[6] Christ, therefore, endorses the ten commandments and the law of love as the fundamental moral law, valid for all time, and through His grace alone do men have power to keep this law.

Just as clearly, however, does the New Testament also teach the wrath of God. We think at once of the judgment scene, where those who have no compassion for their hungry, cold, and naked brethren are condemned to everlasting punishment.[7] In one of Jesus' parables the tares which Satan sowed are allowed to grow with the wheat, until the harvest, when they are to be gathered and burned.[8] Woe is pronounced upon him who causes one of Christ's believing children to stumble and fall.[9] Punishment awaits those who do not have a heart of forgiveness toward their fellow men.[10] When Ananias and Sapphira lied to the Holy Spirit they received immediate judgment at the hand of God.[11] The Apostle Paul refers to "the goodness and severity of God,"[12] declaring His wrath to be "revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men."[13] It is worthy of note, however, that nowhere in the New Testament are members of the kingdom of God given any part in the execution of God's wrath. Paul specifically says: "Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto the wrath of God, for it is written, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense, saith the Lord."[14] The holiness of God demands the punishment of sin, but that punishment is the prerogative of God alone.

Israel in the Old Testament did at times exercise vengeance, and the civil code of Moses contains many elements which are not in harmony with the fundamental law of love. Israel's feet were swift to shed blood and the way of peace they did not know.[15] All of this took place under the old covenant, however, which was only a shadow of the real covenant which was to come.[16] Because of the hardness of men's hearts this covenant permitted practices contrary to the will of God.[17] But this meant leanness of soul on Israel's

[4] Mt. 22:37, 39.
[5] Jn. 4:10.
[6] I Jn. 4:10.
[7] Mt. 25:41-46.
[8] Mt. 13:30.
[9] Mt. 18:7.
[10] Mt. 18:35.
[11] Acts 5:5, 10.
[12] Rom. 11:22.
[13] Rom. 1:18.
[14] Rom. 12:19.
[15] Rom. 3:15, 17.
[16] Heb. 10:1.
[17] Mt. 19:8.

part.[18] The old covenant left all men under the law, so that they brought forth "fruit unto death."[19] Without the saving power of Christ, even the good which they would they did not, and the evil which they would not, that they did.[20] Under the old covenant the whole creation labored in pain until the new should come.[21] Under Moses a veil lay upon the hearts of men.[22]

Under the new covenant, however, the condemnation of the law is removed from those who are in Christ Jesus, "who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."[23] They have "fulness of faith" and "hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience" which "provokes unto love and good works."[24] The new covenant is better than the old because the consciences of men are now "cleansed from dead works to serve the living God."[25] The law of God is no longer written merely on tables of stone, nor with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God into the very hearts of men.[26] The new covenant has invalidated the old in everything, save the fundamental moral law itself. The handwriting of ordinances as found in the ceremonial law is blotted out,[27] and the civil law of Moses is brought to an end that the moral law might be truly fulfilled.[28]

The man of the new covenant is saved by grace, and with the indwelling Spirit of God to direct his steps, he is enabled to keep the moral law. In Christ he is a new creature; old things are passed away, all things are become new.[29] He is raised with Christ, and henceforth he walks in newness of life.[30] He is dead unto sin, and alive unto God; he is a servant of righteousness, obedient from the heart.[31] He is risen with Christ and seeks those things above. He has a heart of compassion, meekness, longsuffering, forgiveness; and the peace of God rules in his heart.[32] He walks in the light and has fellowship with God and his fellow Christians.[33] His life has been transformed by the power of God, hence he lives peaceably with all men. He does not avenge himself; he renders to no man evil for evil but overcomes evil with good.[34] His life bears the fruit of the Spirit: Love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control.[35] He knows that the salvation for which "the prophet sought and searched diligently" is now at hand. Stirred

18 Psa. 106:15.
19 Rom. 7:5.
20 Rom. 7:19.
21 Rom. 8:22.
22 II Cor. 3:15.
23 Rom. 8:1-6.
24 Heb. 10:22-24.
25 Heb. 9:14.
26 II Cor. 3:3.
27 Col. 2:14.
28 Mt. 5:17-48.
29 II Cor. 5:17.
30 Rom. 6:4.
31 Rom. 6:11, 17, 18.
32 Col. 3:1, 12-15.
33 I Jno. 1:6, 7.
34 Rom. 12:2, 17-21.
35 Gal. 5:22.

with this thought, he girds up the loins of his mind to fashion himself after an "holy manner of living." He suffers gladly for the cause of Christ, because Christ also suffered, leaving an example that we should follow in His steps.[36] This is the picture of the man of the new covenant as one finds it throughout the pages of the New Testament.

Christ the Author and Example of Nonresistance

Jesus Christ is the author of the new covenant, and those who are regenerated through Him are members of what He calls the kingdom of God. Christ Himself is the king and He invites men everywhere to submit to His rule. His is not a kingdom of earthly power, nor is the wrath of God manifest within it. It is a kingdom of love, characterized by the spirit of meekness and peace. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."[37] The King Himself is the perfect example of love. Daily He walked, not after the flesh but after the Spirit. With Him the law of love was written, not on tables of stone; but it was proclaimed in His every word and deed. Jesus frequently speaks of God as the loving heavenly Father who cares even for the birds of the air and the flowers of the field, and much more so for His children of faith.[38] God is likened to a shepherd who leaves the ninety and nine sheep safe in the fold and goes out into the wilderness to seek the one that was lost.[39] Or to the father who killed the fatted calf and made a great feast when his lost son returned home again.[40] Jesus calls Himself the good shepherd who willingly lays down His life for the sheep.[41]

The love of Jesus went out freely to all men. It knew no restrictions of race or nationality or of station in life. He healed the daughter of a Syrophoenician woman,[42] and the son of a Roman centurion.[43] He revealed Himself to Nicodemus, a ruler in Israel,[44] and to the sinful woman of Samaria.[45] He loved the rich young man[46] and the humble Lazarus.[47] He ate with the outcast publicans that He might bring them into the kingdom.[48] By precept and example He taught His disciples to "heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons."[49] He desired to gather the children of Jerusalem into

[36] I Pet. 1:10, 13, 14; 2:20, 21.
[37] Mt. 5:5.
[38] Mt. 6:26-30.
[39] Lk. 15:3-7.
[40] Lk. 15:11-32.
[41] Jn. 10:11.
[42] Mk. 7:25-30.
[43] Mt. 8:5-13.
[44] Jn. 3:1-21.
[45] Jn. 4:7-42.
[46] Mk. 10:17-22.
[47] Jn. 11:1-46.
[48] Mk. 2:15-17.
[49] Mt. 10:8.

His kingdom as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings,[50] and when they would not, He wept with sorrow.[51]

Jesus kept the moral law perfectly. He never yielded to sin, and His life was one continuous demonstration of perfect love. The supreme expression of His love, however, is found in His death on the cross. Even though He was God, with authority to sit in judgment of sin, He chose rather to suffer death that the penalty of sin might be paid and that men might be redeemed. The sacrificial death on the cross was in complete harmony with the life of sacrifice which He had lived. His life and His death alike were motivated by a deep and burning love for sinful men. The manner in which Christ went to the cross is a perfect example of nonresistance. When the authorities came to arrest Him He made no attempt to resist, neither did He permit His friends to do so.[52] When He was unjustly accused at His trial He answered nothing, "Insomuch that the governor marvelled greatly."[53] When He came to the place of crucifixion He was mocked and spat upon. They smote Him on the head. They crucified Him between two thieves. They railed on Him and wagged their heads. They challenged His deity and said: "If thou art the son of God come down from the cross."[54] But Christ's only reply was a prayer of love and mercy: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."[55] In the words of Isaiah, "He was oppressed, yet when he was afflicted he opened not his mouth. As a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before its shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth."[56] The life and death of Christ are a perfect example of love and nonresistance.

It is this Christ who bids us enter the kingdom of heaven and follow Him. When we do so we are "crucified with Christ" and it is no longer we that live, but "Christ living in us," that enables us to live the life set forth in the new covenant.[57] Peter admonishes Christians who suffer wrongfully to bear it with patience. In fact, this is the Christian's very calling: "For hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for you leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps; who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously; who his own self bare our sins in his body upon the tree, that we,

50 Lk. 13:34, 35.
51 Lk. 19:41.
52 Mt. 26:47-52.
53 Mt. 27:14.
54 Mt. 27:27-44.
55 Lk. 23:34.
56 Isa. 53:7.
57 Gal. 2:30.

having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness."[58] Christ died not only that we might some day be saved in heaven. He also died that we might live unto righteousness here and now. He came to redeem men both from the guilt and the power of sin. Redemption is not only a passport to the glory world. It is power for righteous living and a Christian testimony in this present sinful world. Righteousness is a fruit of redemption, and the man who is crucified with Christ must follow in His steps.

Nonresistant Teaching in the New Testament

Many portions of the New Testament are devoted to specific instruction in what it means to follow Christ. Let us now direct our attention to those portions which deal with the principle of nonresistance in particular. In the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus describes the members of His kingdom. They are poor in spirit, pure in heart, merciful, and meek. They hunger and thirst after righteousness, they are peacemakers, they suffer persecution for righteousness' sake.[59] Their prayer is that God's will might be done on earth as it is in heaven.[60] How different are these qualities from those of sinful Israel under the old covenant. And as these qualities of the citizen of the kingdom are different, so is his conduct different also.

In Matthew 5 Jesus definitely rejects the civil code of Moses because it does not measure up to the standards of the kingdom and of the higher moral law. This code had forbidden murder and adultery, but Jesus says hatred and lust are as much a violation of the moral law as are the overt acts mentioned in the code.[61] Divorce and the legal oath are also set aside as having no place under the new covenant.[62] Then Jesus utters explicit words on nonresistance where He says:

> Ye have heard that it was said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile; go with him two. . . . Ye have heard that it was said, thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you.[63]

[58] I Pet. 2:19-24. [59] Mt. 5:3-12. [60] Mt. 6:10.
[61] Mt. 5:21-30. [62] Mt. 5:31-37. [63] Mt. 5:38-44.

In this passage the emphasis is on love and forgiveness. Christian forgiveness knows no limit. On one occasion one of the disciples asked Jesus how often a brother should be forgiven if he continued to sin against him, and suggested seven times as a reasonable limit. But Jesus said: not seven times, but seventy times seven.[64] Some people are willing enough to accept ready forgiveness as a proper method in the relationship of brethren. But they question whether the nonresistant teachings of Jesus were meant to go beyond this realm. A careful examination of the passage quoted above, however, will show that Jesus did mean to include much more than this. He specifically commands the Christian not to resist him that is evil. This "evil one" might conceivably be a brother gone astray; but just as likely it would be an ordinary man of the world who is an enemy; and Jesus says to the Christian, do not resist him. Do not pay back to him in kind. "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."

Again, when Jesus rejected the law of eye for eye and tooth for tooth, He was not speaking of personal retaliation, but of the ordinary legal method of avenging a wrong. Even the Mosaic code did not permit an individual who had lost a tooth to strike out the tooth of the offender personally. He must rather report the offense to the civil authorities and then the magistrates would administer punishment, which might consist of removing the offender's tooth. In Matthew 5:38, therefore, Jesus means to say that Christians must not appeal to the state for revenge against offenders. Also, the instruction to go a second mile likely does not refer to personal relationships at all. Here, no doubt, Jesus was referring to the Roman practice of impressing subjects of the empire into some compulsory service, such as road building. And Jesus says: do not resist the Roman authorities in this demand, but submit; and rather than rebel, build two miles of road even if only one is required.

The requirement of Jesus that the Christian love his enemy is in full accord with the words of Paul: "Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto the wrath of God; for it is written, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense saith the Lord. But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. . . . Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."[65] Throughout the New Testament there is a strong emphasis on love and for-

[64] Mt. 18:21, 22. [65] Rom. 12:19-21.

giveness and a willingness to suffer for Christ. "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves."[66] "And be not afraid of them that kill the body . . . but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."[67] Peter says: "If ye should suffer for righteousness' sake, blessed are ye."[68] Stephen, the evangelist, suffered a martyr's death; and even as he was being stoned he prayed that God would not lay this sin to the charge of those who killed him.[69] Paul was in prison many times, and suffered much for the faith that was in him; but the love of Christ constrained him to pursue his course consistently, even though in the end it meant his martyrdom also.

In the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians Paul tells us that love "seeketh not its own."[70] When men fail to observe the principle of nonresistance it is frequently because they are seeking their own. Therefore it is not surprising to find much teaching in the New Testament on this major cause of strife and conflict. Paul says, "the love of money is the root of all kinds of evil."[71] In the same chapter he admonishes servants to have due regard for their masters and in another place he reminds the masters that they treat their servants with love.[72] When the slave Onesimus was converted under the apostle's preaching, Paul sent him back to his master, "no longer as a servant," but as a beloved brother.[73] Among the early Christians at Jerusalem this love which "seeketh not its own" was so strong that the brethren "were of one heart and soul" and even sold their possessions and in the spirit of Christian love "had all things common."[74]

On one occasion Paul rebuked the Christians at Corinth for their failure in this matter of love. Strife had arisen among the Corinthians to the extent that they settled their difficulties in the civil courts of the state. But Paul says: "Dare any of you, having a matter against his neighbor, go to law before the unrighteous, and not before the saints? . . . It is altogether a defect in you, that ye have lawsuits one with another. Why not rather take wrong? Why not rather be defrauded?"[75] Here Paul means to say that Christians must deal with each other in the spirit of Christian love and then they will have no need for unrighteous governments of this sinful world to settle their difficulties by means of force. To do so, in fact,

[66] Mt. 10:16. [67] Mt. 10:28. [68] I Pet. 3:14.
[69] Acts 7:60. [70] I Cor. 13:5. [71] I Tim. 6:10.
[72] Eph. 6:5-9. [73] Philemon 16. [74] Acts 4:32.
[75] I Cor. 6:1, 7.

would be a shame. The difficulty with the Corinthians was that in their relations each one was aiming at justice. But the New Testament way is to aim at love, not at justice. In aiming at justice the result is frequently a selfish struggle for power, position, or wealth. In aiming at love, however, the result is often justice as well as love. But if not, the Christian must continue to love anyway, for according to the teaching of Christ His disciples ought to suffer even injustice rather than to forsake the way of love.

The Christian and the State

The state is an agency for the administration of justice in an evil society and it is not motivated by Christian love. Therefore the outlook of the New Testament is entirely unpolitical. It has nothing to say about how the affairs of state should be conducted. It does not suggest that the Christian should play any role in the state itself. It simply recognizes the place of the state and the obligations of the Christian toward it. The Sermon on the Mount is not a piece of legislation for a secular state in a sinful society. It is a set of principles to govern the members of the kingdom of heaven. And Jesus says this kingdom is "not of this world."[76] The Jews for the most part had a wrong idea of what the Messiah and His kingdom would be like. They were looking for a military leader who would overthrow the Roman conqueror and establish a political state of prestige and power. And it seems that in His great temptation Jesus was actually tempted to follow this course.[77] The power to do so was in His hand, if only He would renounce the plan of God and fall down in obedience to Satan. But Jesus rejected the temptation and followed in the way of love and suffering, for which purpose He had come into the world. On one occasion the multitudes would have taken Jesus by force to make Him king, but again He refused.[78]

The function of the state is clearly stated in the New Testament. It is to maintain order in the evil society. Paul says: "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil." In this capacity the ruler is an agent of God for good.[79] Peter also says governors are sent of God "for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well."[80] In what sense are rulers ministers of God? Only in the sense that in the operation of God's law of cause and effect in sinful human society, which requires that man suffer the consequence

[76] Jn. 18:36. [77] Mt. 4:8-10. [78] Jn. 6:15.
[79] Rom. 13:3, 4. [80] I Pet. 2:14.

of his own evil, society has found it necessary to organize a state and appoint rulers with the power of coercion. When Paul wrote his epistle the Emperor Nero was on the Roman throne. Nero was one of the world's most wicked rulers and Paul certainly does not mean to teach that this wicked ruler was God's personal representative; or that Nero was ruling by a sort of divine right like that claimed by the kings of the seventeenth century.

Rulers of the state are ministers of God only in the sense that they help to bring evildoers to the consequence of their own evil, as required by the law of cause and effect which operates in human society. The state is an instrument of sinful society for the checking of its own evil. And frequently it uses one evil to check another. For this reason the ruler "beareth not the sword in vain." Like the Canaanite wars, the evil deeds of rulers may ultimately serve some divine purpose. Like Nebuchadnezzar of old, they may be used of God to punish the evil deeds, even of those who profess to be Christians. This may be the case of the rulers engaged in the present world war. Perhaps God is using all of them to punish each other. But these deeds of warfare are sin in the sight of God as much as were Israel's wars against Canaan. Certainly this was true of the Emperor Nero of whom Paul wrote. What Romans 13 teaches is that rulers of states serve a divine purpose of checking evil, even though it be through sinful means. But this does not mean that God necessarily approves the deeds of rulers. In many cases He certainly does not.

What then should be the attitude of the Christian toward the state and its rulers? Paul makes it clear that he must have a general attitude of subordination. He must do nothing to hinder the state in its purpose. His own conduct must be righteous and not evil. He must be obedient to laws designed for the maintenance of order. He must pay taxes, and he must honor and respect those in authority. On another occasion Paul admonished Christians to pray for kings and those in authority.[81] Peter likewise says they should "be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether to the king as supreme or unto governors."[82] Obedience to rulers, however, has a limit. It applies only to matters relating to the maintenance of order in the society of this world. The state may never encroach upon the sphere of the church. In faith, religion, and morals, the Christian must be in complete obedience to Christ; and if the re-

[81] I Tim. 2:1, 2. [82] I Pet. 2:13, 14.

quirements of the state in any way conflict with God's commands the Christian must do as John and Peter did when they said: "We must obey God rather than men."[83] This must certainly be the Christian's answer when the state requests him to violate God's moral law and the principle of nonresistance.

It is sometimes suggested that "subjection to the higher powers," as taught by Paul, involves an obligation to military service. But this interpretation would not have meant anything to the people to whom Paul was writing, because they were not required to serve in the Roman army. The only military service, if any, which they might have taken up would have been one of rebellion against the Roman empire. Therefore, "subjection to the higher powers" simply means that the Christian can have no part in a rebellion or revolution against the state in control. In Romans 13 Paul is teaching nonresistance, not an obligation to military service. A modern analogy might be found in the case of Christians in Denmark or Czechoslovakia, under the rule of Hitler. Jesus would say in this case: do not rebel against the foreign tyrant, but suffer in subjection rather than to violate the principle of nonresistance. This would indeed be a difficult situation for a nonresistant Christian. Rebellion would be a violation of the teachings of Christ; but submission to the tyrant's rule would no doubt bring demands to violate these teachings through service in his army. Here again the Christian would need to obey God rather than men, and the result would be suffering, perhaps even death. This would be hard to endure, but it would be a true and genuine Christian martyrdom such as that suffered by many of the early Christians as well as by the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. The disciple of Christ must always be ready to die for him, if need be.

On one occasion Jesus was asked the question: "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?" To this question He replied: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's."[84] This statement is also sometimes interpreted as an approval of military service for the Christian, because military service is supposed to be one of the "things that are Caesar's." But the situation here is almost precisely like that in Romans 13. Jesus' questioners were not men who would be interested in service in the Roman army. If anything, they would be interested in a military rebellion against the Roman authority. So Jesus says, give to Caesar

[83] Acts 5:29. [84] Mt. 22:17-21.

that which is Caesar's. That is, do not rebel against him, not even to the extent of refusing to pay the tax. So here again Jesus is teaching nonresistance, not the opposite.

The way in which Jesus answered this question, however, shows that in His mind there is something much more important to the Christian than paying taxes to Casear. In fact He did not answer the question at all; He simply said that Caesar should have what belongs to him. He does not even say that the tax belongs to Caesar, although this is implied. But the important part of the answer is the last, where He says, "render unto God the things that are God's." The meaning is something like this: why, yes, if the coin is Caesar's, let him have that which belongs to him. But remember, there are some things which belong to God and be sure that you don't give any of these to Caesar. Jesus makes it clear that there is such a thing as a conflict between the demands of God and those of Caesar. This is a point which many people fail to catch. They think and speak as if there were no such thing as conflict between the requirements of God and those of Caesar. They assume that the demands of the state must always be obeyed; that they are not even open to question. Then they misinterpret the Bible in whatever way is necessary to make it agree with the government's demands. A personal friend of the writer has put it this way:

> To put my country and my God on an equal basis, to be equally obeyed, is . . . blasphemy. I know that "the powers that be" are ordained of God and are His ministers. But that includes Hitler. It applied particularly to Nero, who was even worse than Hitler. Are these too to be obeyed and acknowledged with equal authority with God? If so, why do we fight them? If the rulers of our country are the ministers of God in the sense that they have final authority over Christians, then so is Hitler, and you have God fighting God. The only possible interpretation of Romans 13 is that "the powers that be" are always to be obeyed except when obedience to them conflicts with obedience to God.

Nonresistance is For Our Own Time

Some people have attempted to obliterate the conflict between God and Caesar by assigning the Sermon on the Mount and other peace teachings of Jesus to the millennium. Now not all Christians agree on the future. Some interpret the Scriptures to mean that at His second advent Christ is coming to establish a millennium on the earth; others that He is coming to judge the world, and that there will be no literal millennial reign. Whichever view is correct, however, the idea that the New Testament way of life is to be postponed to some future time is hardly compatible with a reasonable

interpretation of the Scriptures, or of the millennium itself. If there is to be a literal millennium all murder and hatred, conflict and strife will surely be absent. There will be no enemies to love and no one to whom the other cheek need be turned. There will be no evil and no persecution. Therefore in the millennium there would not be any opportunity to apply these specific teachings, and much of the Sermon on the Mount would be meaningless.

Nowhere in the New Testament are Christians told to postpone obedience to some later time. John says, "Hereby we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth of God is not in him. But whoso keepeth his word, in him verily hath the love of God been perfected."[85] Surely these words were meant for application here and now, not merely in some future age. In the Sermon on the Mount itself Jesus says, "ye are the salt of the earth" and "ye are the light of the world."[86] Certainly He is speaking of this present world, not some future one. It is also clear that the early church considered Jesus' words as instructions for literal observance at this time. Paul's teaching on nonresistance in Romans 12 is as strong as that of Jesus. His teaching on litigation[87] is fully as explicit as is that of Jesus on the law of eye for eye and tooth for tooth. The nonresistant teaching of Peter in his first epistle is equally strong.

Disregarding the Truth a Serious Matter

In addition to this clear picture of the Christian way of life we must also remember that the New Testament teaches the judgment of God upon sin. This judgment, moreover, seems to rest very heavily on those who have come to a knowledge of the truth under the new covenant and then deliberately reject it:

> For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more a sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful expectation of judgment, and a fierceness of fire which shall devour the adversaries. A man that hath set at nought Moses' law dieth without compassion on the word of two or three witnesses; of how much sorer judgment, think ye, shall he be judged worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace? For we know him that said, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense. And again, the Lord shall judge his people. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.[88]

[85] I Jn. 2:3-5. [86] Mt. 5:13, 14. [87] I Cor. 6:1-7.
[88] Heb. 10:26-30.

The seriousness of this matter was stated in a most forceful manner during the days of the first World War by Maurice Hess, a conscientious objector and a member of the Dunkard Church, while serving a prison sentence following a court martial for refusing to bear arms. In his testimony Hess said:

> I do not believe that I am seeking martyrdom. As a young man, life and its hopes and freedom and opportunities for service are sweet to me. I want to go out into the world and make use of what little talent I may have acquired by long and laborious study.
>
> But I know that I dare not purchase these things at the price of eternal condemnation. I know the teaching of Christ, my Saviour. He taught us to resist not evil, to love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, and do good to them that hate us. Not only did He teach this, but He also practiced it in Gethsemane, before Pilate, and on Calvary. We would indeed be hypocrites and base traitors to our profession if we would be unwilling to bear the taunts and jeers of a sinful world, and its imprisonment, and torture or death, rather than to participate in war and military service. We know that obedience to Christ will gain for us the glorious prize of eternal life. We cannot yield, we cannot compromise, we must suffer.[89]

In this article and an earlier one, it has been the writer's view that the teaching of peace and nonresistance is found throughout the entire Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; that the principle of nonresistance is an integral part of God's plan for His people; that it cannot be thought of apart from the plan of salvation itself; and that the judgment of God rests upon those who disregard this teaching as much as it does upon those who neglect some other command of Christ. The attempt here has been to show by a fair and balanced treatment of the Scriptures that the nonresistant way of life is in accord with the whole tenor of the gospel, and that it does not rest upon a few isolated passages. Obviously in such a brief treatment it is not possible to include comments on every passage bearing on the subject. It must also be recognized that there are a number of Biblical passages which present some difficulties of interpretation, such as the words of Jesus: "And he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one."[90] A full treatment of these various passages would have made the present article too lengthy; and since in some cases the difficulty is due chiefly to a superficial understanding of the passages, their treatment would have involved a discussion of considerable matter not altogether relevant to the purpose of the present discussion.

[89] Quoted in Norman Thomas, *The Conscientious Objector in America* (New York, 1925), 25, 26.
[90] Lk. 22:36.

ADVENTURES OF AN ANABAPTIST IN TURKEY, 1607-1610*

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

Although the story which will be told in the following pages represents but an episode in the history of Anabaptism, it nevertheless means much more. It tells us of a great work, an unusual personality, a time of extraordinary events resembling so much our own time of stirring historical experiences, in short, it is an exceptional story hitherto practically unknown even to experts. It offers a contribution to both church-history and the history of charity, in particular of relief work.

The background of the story is in short as follows. Today one can scarcely realize the fear and horror which the Europe of the sixteenth century felt at the sound of the word "Turk." It made everybody shiver and tremble. From the beginning of the century the Turks had advanced in ever renewed waves from the Balkans through Hungary toward the West, killing, pillaging, burning wherever they came. They pushed forward toward Austria and came as far as the Tyrol. It was the mission proper of Austria—the old frontier country toward the East—to be a bulwark against the unfolding threat of Turkey. Toward the end of the century a long and costly war raged on the eastern frontiers of the Holy Roman Empire for thirteen years (1593-1606). The settlers of this region suffered heavily; their houses were burned, the men were slaughtered, and the women were dragged away into captivity; it was an unspeakable misery. In this very frontier area thriving Anabaptist colonies were situated, the Hütterite "Bruderhöfe," which were renowned because of the way of community life practiced in them.[1] It is well known that descendants of this particular Anabaptist group are still living in colonies in South Dakota and Canada, where they continue to live in the same manner as their ancestors did three and four hundred years ago. Like all other evangelical Anabaptists, they believed in complete nonresistance, and accordingly had to suffer exceptionally from the roving hordes of Turks.

*A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Society of Church History, Chicago, Dec. 30, 1941.

1 See John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren*, 1528-1928; *A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty.* (Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, No. 2.) Goshen, Indiana, (Menn. Histor. Soc.) 1931.

In June of the year 1605 Turks and their allies, the Haiduks, a strangely mixed and little civilized folk in eastern Hungary,[2] attacked the Hutterite colonies in southern Moravia, destroyed whatever they came upon, and eventually took with them all the women to sell them as slaves to wealthy Turks far away. One can easily imagine all the misery and distress among the brethren, and one only wonders that the Hutterian brotherhood as a whole failed to attempt earnestly to save as many sisters as possible. To be sure, one of the brothers succeeded in reaching a group of these poor prisoners in adjoining Slovakia, and thanks to the intercession of the Christian magistrate of a city, this group was released.[3] However, this was but a small fraction of all those dragged away, and nothing was heard any more from the rest.

Among these apparently lost women victims of the fury of war there were also the wife and child of a simple miller of the Hutterian Brethren by the name of Salomon Böger. He is the hero of the following story. He distinguished himself above the others in the brotherhood by his activity. He could not accept all these happenings passively with pious resignation as the others did who looked upon suffering as the inevitable lot of a Christian. He was aware that in this actual case suffering was not martyrdom for conscience' sake, but an outgrowth of the cruelty of war. Thus he felt himself called to undertake whatever he possibly could do to find and redeem wife, child, and other sisters out of the hands of the barbarians.

In order to get the right conception of the following story, one must keep in mind that Anabaptism by and large, and the Hutterian communities in particular, was based upon an utterly strict discipline, in which private actions were completely excluded. Thus, Salomon

[2] Haiduks were a mixture of Hungarians, Serbs, and Rumanians. They lived along the border between Hungary and Transylvania. At the time of our story they fought in the service of the Transylvanian prince, "King" Stephan Bocskay who then possessed the suzerainty of Turkey. Bocskay and his Haiduks fought with the Turks against Austria and her claim on Hungary. At that time the Haiduks lived in the main from pillaging. In acknowledgment of their service in the so-called Bocskay rebellion of 1605 they received a particular district in the afore-mentioned area where they began to settle. So they started a more orderly life and became more receptive for civilization. The attack on Moravia in 1605 was carried out by Bocskay who comported himself even worse than the Turks.

[3] The *Liederbuch der Hutterischen Brüder*, Scottdale, Pa., 1914, contains the so-called three "Botschkai-Lieder" (pp. 804-812). Stanza 103-123 tells the story of the deliverance of this group. The *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brüder,* ed. Wolkan, Wien and Standoff Colony, Macleod, Alta., Canada, 1923, p. 484, gives also a full description of this event. It goes without saying that both editions of the Hutterite chronicle, the first one by Josef v. Beck, Wien, 1883 (*Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, II,* vol. XLIII), pp. 337-350, and the other edition by Wolkan, pp. 482-493, describe at length all happenings of that period. However, the following story is but slightly touched.

Böger needed first the consent of the whole brotherhood for his plan to go down into Turkey to search for the prisoners and to find ways and means for their release. It seems strange to us that at first the congregation hesitated to consent. Precious time was lost with deliberations and hesitancy. Seventeen months after the afore-mentioned attack in Moravia, in November, 1606, Austria signed a formal peace treaty with Turkey, the first Turkey ever negotiated with a European power on terms of equality. It was an event of the greatest historical significance, causing a real sensation all over Europe. According to this treaty, Turkey was ready to keep peace in the West if the Emperor Rudolphus II would present a gift of 200,000 ducats to the Sultan.[4] To be sure, this peace treaty was not yet ratified, however, there was now a positive chance for Salomon Böger to enter Turkey and to start his relief work. Also the brotherhood no longer resisted. The peace was concluded on November 11, 1606, and already in December, eighteen months after the disastrous events in Moravia, Böger set out for the first time toward the East, without knowledge of country and language, and presumably equipped with but the scantiest allowance.

The story of this unusual enterprise, in unusual times, and in unusual countries, carried out with unusual moral greatness, forms the contents of a hitherto unknown manuscript[5] well worthy to be studied and made known to wider circles. This manuscript, an entire book, contains besides other material twenty-four letters by Salomon Böger written between 1607 and 1610 from Turkey to the communities in Moravia. In these letters he reports his adventures and results with such liveliness and human warmth, that one cannot read them but with deepest sympathy. This book is truly a humane docu-

[4] The most profound history of Turkey is still the old-fashioned but exhaustive work by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs,* 10 vols., Wien, 1827-1835. Vol. IV (1829) deals with the period 1574-1623, but almost exclusively from the political angle. Very reliable is also N. Jorga (the former Rumanian premier), *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs,* 5 vols., Gotha, 1913. The Sultan of the time concerned was Ahmed I (1603-1617). Turkey had to conclude peace because she had three more wars at the same time: in Persia, in Egypt and in Crimea (Hammer-Purgstall, IV, 436).

[5] The manuscript is described by Beck in his *Geschicht-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Österreich-Ungarn,* Wien, 1883, p. xxviii. Beck copied it and his transcript is now in the Mährisches Landesarchiv, Brünn. A copy of 1844 exists in the Archiv der Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde zu Pressburg (Slovakia). The original manuscript later disappeared and could not be located. It was either sold to some private collector in Hungary, or more likely neglected and consequently destroyed. Formerly it was owned by a Catholic priest of a small village in Slovakia who looked at these books as heretical and therefore as being without value. The contents are briefly referred to by Johann Loserth *Der Kommunismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte,* LXXXI, 1894, p. 206.

ment such as Anabaptism has seldom produced. It shows both how far this man felt unified with the brotherhood, and yet started a most individual action, apparently the first relief work among the Hutterites. Unfortunately, space does not permit a scholarly report of the manuscript proper, a transcript of which is now in this country. When the full manuscript is published the significance of this simple miller and his role in the so much neglected "history of love" will be fully recognized.

History in general tells us of heroes of war, of statesmen, of artists, and so on, but very little, if anything, about men or women of good will who sacrificed themselves to save others. *Florence Nightingale, Henry Dunant, Jane Addams, Edith Cavell, Elsa Brandström, Fridtjof Nansen* and many others belong to this group.[6] And now, Salomon Böger deserves to be counted among these true workers in the Kingdom of Love. We must be grateful that the report of his activities was preserved. His time resembles so much our own unhappy era: suffering, affliction, and agony, homelessness, starvation, and death on all sides, and the misery of the prisoners must have been unimaginable. However, it was then as always in life: where there is so much distress there is also much love and good will. And such a story of good will forms the contents of the following narrative.

Böger turned first toward Vienna, Austria (about sixty miles south of the Hutterite Moravian colonies), in order to provide himself with letters of recommendation. At this time there were a few businessmen in Vienna who traded with Hungary, then belonging to Tur-

[6] There does not yet exist a "History of Love and Pity", though it would be a most stimulating subject. Very valuable is the book by Karl Nötzel, *Menschen der Liebe.* Hans Harder-Verlag, Wernigerode am Harz, 1928. It is not known to me whether there exists a somewhat similar book in English. Florence Nightingale was the famous nurse during the Crimean War, 1854-1855. Henry Dunant, moved by the misery of the wounded in the battle at Solferino, 1859, succeeded eventually in founding the Red Cross in 1864. Jane Addams is well known to every American by her foundation of the Hull House, Chicago. Edith Cavell was the British nurse in the first World War, who after helping many wounded to escape to Holland was shot by the German military authorities in Belgium in October, 1915. Her monument in London bears her words, "Patriotism is not enough; I must have no hatred or bitterness against anyone." Elsa Brandström (now Mrs. Ulrich) was the "Swedish angel" among German and Austrian war prisoners in Siberia 1914-1920. Her name will ever be remembered with reverence by all who in those years suffered so many hardships in Russian camps. See her book, *Unter Kriegsgefangenen in Russland und Sibirien, 1914-1920,* Leipzig, 1922. Fridtjof Nansen's activities during the famine in Russia and his care for the stateless refugees after the World War (within the framework of the League of Nations) is well known. Nötzel's book portrays some gentlewomen who devoted their lives to the welfare of prisoners, like Elizabeth Frey or Mathilde Wrede, and to men serving the needs of strays and waifs, like Bernardo, Bodelschwing, or Wichern. He omits completely those who ministered to the victims of war.

key, although this business was a most insecure affair due to the almost complete lack of credit and trust.[7] We shall hear more about the difficulty of financial transactions from the West to the East which from its very start doomed Böger's relief work to a great extent. But he was so full of devotion for his self-appointed task, so full of passion to help, so full of love and pity for all suffering victims, that he did not allow difficulties to keep him from his purpose. And this passion, this self-denial in service, this absolute devotion, makes our story a veritable epic.

From Vienna Böger traveled downward along the river Danube to the city of Comorn, the never conquered Hungarian frontier fort. We do not know how he traveled, whether by craft or by foot; in any case, as far as to this last fort the way was fairly safe. After settling there all the business necessary for his further aims, he continued to Budapest, the residence of the Turkish viceroy of Hungary Ali Pasha, one of the greatest then in the Turkish empire. In this metropolis of the East, Böger applied to two imperial agents or Austrian civil commissioners by the name of Philipp Morgenthaller and Lukas Pfeffer. The names of these two men have been verified in other records of the time;[8] however, nothing was known hitherto concerning their function in Budapest, and in this regard our letters represent also a valuable historical source. As far as recognizable, it was the duty of these two agents to take care of the interests of the prisoners and to promote, if possible, their redemption, but it seems that their function was temporary only, until the peace treaty was ratified. There is reason to suppose that their situation was most uncomfortable, primarily with respect to their negotiations with crafty Ali Pasha himself. Fortunately both men were staunch Christians and unusually well disposed toward the Anabaptist brethren, which is surprising in view of the general attitude of the ruling classes.

Böger inquired concerning a few captured sisters in the vicinity of Budapest, and energetically labored for their deliverance. At this

7 The best picture of the entire economic situation at that time and the trade with the European Southeast may be found in J. Kallbrunner's article in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* XXIV, 1931, p. 142 ff., "Lazarus Henckel von Donnersmark." This man was the banker of the Habsburgs in the days of our story. He was not a nobleman but a simple businessman. He was paid by the Habsburgs in copper and silver mines in Slovakia. He traded with Hungary, Turkey, and Transylvania.

8 The old Hofkammerarchiv in Vienna, Austria, contains quite a number of records with the names of these men, but nothing is mentioned as to their stay in Budapest and their function there. The same is true of the Staatsarchiv in Vienna, file "Turcica."

place a few words might be said about the final result of all this endeavor and also of the economic side of the entire prisoner trade. The bargain with the prisoners was looked upon as a private job, a source of income for the individual Turk, who considered his prisoners as his own possession. Böger spent a total of thirty-two months in Turkey between 1607 and 1610, and in all these long months he succeeded in delivering not more than six sisters and two brothers, a meager result, indeed, as compared with the amount of energy and devotion he put into this work. His wife and child he never saw again, yea, he did not even find the slightest trace of them. The ransom for Christian female prisoners was very high in view of the general lack of money, and it was almost impossible for average people to raise such sums. The price fluctuated from fifty to three hundred ducats, or the equivalent in cloth which was then scarce in Turkey and highly welcomed in lieu of money. For mere assistance in the investigation of prisoners fifty to seventy ducats were asked here and there, and one can imagine Böger's anguish in seeing how the Turk captors treated the fate of the poor prisoners as mere business. Of course, one must keep in mind the extraordinary financial crisis of that time. A century of war had destituted Turkey of all means, and the prisoners were understood to be real assets. There was still another, most strange hindrance in all this bargaining: the female prisoners were kept completely secluded and concealed from all aliens, and therefore the search for them became extremely difficult.

It seems that the afore-mentioned two imperial agents in Budapest were earnestly interested in this relief work, and Böger often repeats in his letters his supplication to the brotherhood in Moravia to send promptly money, cloth, or other valuable goods to deliver this or that sister for whom the agents had guaranteed. Apparently the brethren could not satisfy these demands, or could do so but extremely slowly and only on a reduced scale.[9] And this in spite of a resolution reported in the chronicle, the *Geschichtbuch* of the brotherhood, "not to leave the prisoners in the lurch."[10] Böger himself

[9] The economic situation of the Hutterites is described best in Loserth's book (note 5), and more recently in František Hrubý's *Die Wiedertäufer in Mähren*, Leipzig, 1935, (first published in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XXX-XXXII, 1933-1935). The *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brüder* (ed. Wolkan) deals at great length with this subject, see pp. 477, 497, and *passim*.

[10] See *Geschichtbuch*, ed. Wolkan, p. 492. On February 27, 1607, a conference was held "ob es sich unserem Glauben gebühre (sc. to try to redeem the sisters dragged away) und (ob sie es nicht) etwa wider Gott täten. . . . Weil es nicht um des Glaubens

could not understand this reluctance or seeming lack of interest. He had a broader conception of charity, including in his endeavor even non-Hutterian women whose case he advocated with the same devotion as that of the Hutterian sisters. According to the letters, it seems that this broad-minded attitude aroused some distrust among the brethren because of their basic nonconformity with the "world." There are several places in the correspondence where Böger apologizes for these intercessions in favor of non-Hutterian prisoners, and he promises not to do it again. And then, he could not but do it again, asking the brethren for money to ransom non-Anabaptist "sisters." Thus he proved actually a new spirit clearly distinct from that of the "small brotherhood" which understood itself as the flock of sheep among wolves.

After a stay of three months in Budapest Böger returned to the colonies in Moravia for report and counsel. But he found no rest at home. One month later he was again en route to Budapest, where he was to stay for another period of three and a half months. His letters home are moving records revealing a picture of endless suffering. Women were seduced by Turks, but after the children were born they were abandoned, and the women were compelled to ride away on horseback with their captors. We hear of women who became insane; of two lads dying in a rotten prison; of the bargain with prisoners who were moved from place to place with ever renewed expectations of deliverance and ever renewed disappointments; we hear of one conversion to the faith of Islam, barring any return of the victim to the West. Yet we also learn of the untiring activity of Böger in finding sisters and comforting them as well as he possibly could. "It is a sad business," he wrote to the elder of the Hutterites at home, but he added apologetically, "you must not be concerned about me, for I have taken up the burden myself, and I do not want to save my energy."

In the summer of 1607 he returned a second time for a short sojourn in Moravia, apparently to procure money for further attempts. He was now fully conscious that he could not in any way carry on his former quiet life at home as long as sisters were still in bondage. It is true that he once wrote, "I would like to be with the congregation with a contented heart, and I am yearning for an unconcerned

willen geschehen, . . . so habe es gar eine andere Meinung. Derhalben bewilliget wurde, man solle ihnen zu Hilfe kommen, mit Auskaufen oder wie man könnte. Denn man könnte sie nicht stecken lassen. . . ."

and harmonious conclusion of my life," but he knew that without his beloved wife he could have no more easy hours. It was not "wilfullness," as he wrote, by which he was moved. On the contrary, it was with anxiety and apprehension that he started, but there was no other aim in his life than this one: to continue his self-appointed relief project.

Böger's third journey lasted much longer than the first two, namely from August, 1607, until April, 1608, a total of eight months. This time he decided not to trust the "mendacious Turks," as he wrote, but to look personally after things in Turkey proper, or, to be correct, in that part of Turkey which is now Serbia. He was recommended by the two imperial agents in Budapest to an Italian doctor whom Böger now joined on his way to Belgrade. This was his first extended undertaking beyond Hungarian territory, and there were perils and hardships of all kinds to be overcome. For instance, at that time there existed no inns in Turkey where one might stay over night, but only so-called "caravanseries," described by a traveler as "gloomy horse-stables," with beds on bare rock, visited by a rough mob of robbers and murderers.[11] One can imagine the anxiety and despondency of Böger at the start of this venture. He bade a solemn farewell to the congregation at home. But little was achieved on this trip in spite of having staked so much. In his usual report to the elder of the Hutterite brotherhood he also gave some bits of political news and reported the horrible doings of the Haiduks and all the danger from these unsatisfied and disorderly free lances.

After return from Serbia Böger decided to go back to Moravia, and accordingly travelled the Danube upstream as far as the frontier fort of Comorn mentioned above. Here he learned with surprise a most decisive piece of news: the great imperial embassy with gold and presents of honor for the Sultan was then en route to Constantinople, fifteen months after the signing of the peace treaty. In the suite of the ambassador, Adam von Herberstein, there was by chance also a Hutterian brother, one Balthasar Goller, whom Böger knew very well. He was the physician of the ambassador and we know his

[11] See: *Stephan Gerlach des Aelteren Tage-Buch der . . . an die Ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten . . . Gesandtschaft (1573-1578)*. Herausgegeben von seinem Enkel Samuel Gerlach, Frankfurt am Main, 1674. On page 15 we read, "So ist davon zu wissen, dass es in der Türkey keine Wirtshäuser gibt, sondern allein finstere Rosställe, die sie Karapuzereyen nennen. Da mag einer auch auf einem harten Stein wohl schlafen, etc. etc." (Copy in Harvard College Library).

name also from other sources of the time.[12] This man invited Böger to join the caravan and to go with them to Turkey. With excitement Böger laid hold of this opportunity to entrust himself to this safe convoy. He was ready to accompany the expedition eastward to continue his searches in new areas. Böger was accepted and appointed as butler for the table of the nobility. But he stipulated from the very start the liberty for himself to leave the ambassadorial train in each town or city for his inquiries. Later he wrote home that this fact caused much discontent, since he could not but neglect his duties as butler.

The imperial embassy to the Sublime Porte, starting from Vienna in May, 1608, and returning in September, 1609, was a great political event. Adam von Herberstein's commission was by no means an easy one. He was supposed to terminate definitely the existing tension, and thus to change the entire European situation. However, Herberstein did not carry with him the total sum of 200,000 ducats stipulated in the peace treaty, but only 150,000, still an immense sum of gold as compared with the general poverty and plight in Austria. Among other items Herberstein was also supposed to negotiate on behalf of the war prisoners, and also about the return of frontier forts still in the hands of the Turks. He faced an exceedingly delicate task in meeting reckless and cunning statesmen of great conceit. Unfortunately there is no room to give further details about this interesting historical event and its background. As far as Belgrade the ambassadorial caravan went by boat on the Danube; from there they continued by wagon. Böger had joined them in Comorn on June 21, but it was not until September 2 that the whole procession arrived in Constantinople, the capital of Turkey. After his return Herberstein wrote a description in full of his journey and experiences and had it decorated by an artist with twenty miniatures or portraits. This precious book exists in two manuscripts and it must be greatly regretted that there is no access to it at present.[13] Herberstein's book seems not to mention the Anabaptist members of his party.

[12] On Balthasar Goller see Hrubý's book (note 9) or *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XXX (1933), p. 34, XXXI, (1934), p. 63, and XXXII (1935), p. 16. Cardinal Franz Dietrichstein who lived on his large estate in Moravia (Nikolsburg)—the same where a hundred years before Hubmaier had lived—and who was the head of the Counter Reformation in this country, nevertheless used Goller as his personal physician still in 1618, while he persecuted all other Hutterians.

[13] One copy is in Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung, Cod. German. 1277, another at the castle of Count Khuen-Hedervary in Hungary. The latter is the illuminated manuscript. Adam von Herberstein was twice ambassador to Turkey: 1608-9 and 1618. The best information about him and his experiences is to be found in

Our own source contains three letters written during this long trip, from which it is evident that Böger had no interest at all for things which would have thrilled other travellers. About Constantinople he did not write anything except the one fact that a pestilence raged there, and that many had already died in the inn. All his search in the new area, however, was in vain because of the limitation of his opportunities. Somebody told him of captive women beyond in Asia Minor. Böger did not hesitate very long; he went as far as a three days' journey over the sea "to an old city by the name of Nicea where the big council had taken place, the first one." However, also this attempt was in vain. Eventually, in November, 1608, the embassy left Constantinople, after having passed through many unpleasant experiences and quarrels, and early in January, 1609, the entire train was back in Budapest. There the trouble continued; the Turks complained about the undelivered 50,000 ducats, and the Austrians complained because forts and prisoners had not been returned as stipulated. Nine months more were necessary before everything was settled.

Böger did not care for all these affairs. Untiring and active as he was, he did not rest. An inner fire pushed him to ever renewed searches. No sooner had he returned to Budapest than he already planned another undertaking. For more than two years he had not been at home. All the time he was on the road, without money and comfort, sustained only by his great pity for the poor prisoners and by devotion to his wife, supported by the consciousness of being a part of the true Christian brotherhood as he understood the Hutterian church. Our story still continues with new experiences in store.

Böger understood that he could not get reliable information in Budapest, since all the Turks whom he had contacted there proved to be "mendacious," as he wrote. Therefore he resolved to travel down the Danube for a third time, albeit with anxiety and trembling heart. He planned to go to Serbia to pursue some traces he thought to have found previously. On the first journey thither he had been in the company of the Italian doctor; the second time he had been protected by the ambassador; but this time, as he started on his own responsibility, he felt the full measure of risk and was stirred by

the biography by Hans von Zwiedenick-Südenhorst in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. The same author published also *Geschichte und Geschichten der neueren Zeit*, Bamberg, 1894, where he gives more details about the embassy of 1608-1609 (pp. 30-40). Hammer-Purgstall *op. cit.* (note 4), IV, 419 ff. gives an exhaustive picture of the happenings too, yet without quoting this journal.

gloomy misgivings. For two months he was on the road again, and the letters from this trip are the most momentous ones of the entire collection. It is scarcely possible to present here an adequate impression of the emotional value and of the spontaneity of the narrative. Great hardships were to be passed through, and it was with bitterness of heart that he pursued his projects, since all these efforts proved to be in vain. He had no money; once he incidentally mentioned that he had not eaten a warm soup for eight days. Moreover, he acquired a bad eye disease which handicapped his writing. The nights were particularly hard. In all these weeks it was but once that a kindhearted Turk invited him to stay in his home; usually he slept in the open air. He saw and heard a great deal about the sorry plight of the general population. They had very little money, as the Sultan virtually squeezed the last penny out of them for war purposes, and all other high officials and generals of Turkey did likewise. When he came to Belgrade he was looked upon as a spy. Nobody understood his purpose and motives, and kind people warned him. But eventually he emerged unharmed out of all these dangers.

He returned to Budapest, but only to prepare a new trip of investigation. And this one seemed to him to be the hardest of all, as he wrote. This time he planned to go to the North, in the district of the Haiduks, who were understood to be fiercer than the Turks. He knew from many reports that there were several sisters in the city of Erlau near the Transylvanian border who by good fortune could be delivered. But no merchant dared to go there because of the numerous robberies and attempts at murder in those districts. Böger fought with himself regarding this new project. Of course he was frightened also by the many rumors. He knew that the Haiduks even blackmailed the viceroy, Ali Pasha, to wage new wars for the sake of pillaging. But Böger had consecrated his life to the great task of relief and was not one to shrink from these perils. He was more concerned about the sisters whom he hoped to deliver, fearing that they might be murdered on the way back. For the second time he bade farewell to the congregation at home with moving words visualizing the possibility of his death. He gave a good account of his conscience in the matter of his allowance stating that he had been utterly parsimonious in order to save a small sum for ransom if needed. "I can say it with a clear conscience," he wrote, "that I have rather hurt my body in order to free some individuals." He was a-

fraid that the brethren might grumble because of the money spent outside the colony for apparently fruitless endeavors. And he anticipated the argument that he had made all his trips for the sake of adventure. He felt free of such reproach. Trust in God continually sustained him. "Sometimes my heart was so heavy and time was so long that my eyes watered. How may I do it otherwise than resign myself to God and take hold of the opportunities my heart shows to me."

No record in the manuscript tells us of the experiences during this journey to the Haiduk country. In any case, it passed safely, although it is not known whether successfully or not. Eventually, in December, 1609, after an absence of more than two years, he returned to Moravia to deliver a full report to the elder of the Hutterian brotherhood, Claus Braidl,[14] and to justify himself before the entire brotherhood. Unfortunately the manuscript does not contain any record of these happenings. Since Böger was now at home, no letters were written or collected.

However, we know something about the plight of the brotherhood at this time from the large printed chronicle, the *Geschichtbuch* of the Hutterites. The Counter Reformation was then on its victorious march and the forces of the imminent Thirty-Years' War were foreshadowing the coming terror. The Hutterian colonies experienced the destruction of all orderly economy and social life. Nobody was safe in the colonies, and life had become extremely perilous. It was only by its deep-rooted Christian faith that the brotherhood was able to survive this ordeal which twelve years later, in 1622, ended in the expulsion of the Hutterites from Moravia.

In his home country Böger did not find rest anymore. He could not forget all the suffering of the sisters in captivity, and after a short respite, he resolved to make a fifth trip into Turkey. He knew that this time the brethren could not give him any money for the purpose of ransom. So he conceived the idea of applying for aid to a landed nobleman in Slovakia, on whose estate a Hutterian colony enjoyed particularly great freedom. This was Colonel Seyfried von Kollonitsch, one of the outstanding field marshals of the time, the

[14] On Claus Braidl, the elder, see Johann Loserth's book (note 5), *op. cit.*, p. 196. Braidl was an outstanding leader or "Vorsteher" (bishop), and both editions of the chronicle give many details about his activities and ministry from 1583 until his death in 1611. See also *Mennonitisches Lexikon* by Hege-Neff, Frankfurt, 1913 ff., Vol. I, p. 253.

commander of the imperial troops in Slovakia.[15] Böger asked Von Kollonitsch to give him a Turkish prisoner whom he intended to take along as exchange. The Colonel was willing to do so and assigned to him a noble Turk—"like a Pasha's son," as Böger wrote, "worth six oxen"—well-nigh too noble an exchange for a humble Hutterian sister. Because of this Turk, negotiations went back and forth. The Colonel had little time for this affair, trifling as it seemed to him, and as he often changed his residence, Böger started again a restless life. He went to Vienna and into Slovakia, and again he wrote letters home to the church. Great events were happening in the background of these preparations: the Hungarian Diet in Pressburg of 1609 and the election of Mathias, the brother of the Emperor, as King. Attempts at carrying out the program of the Counter Reformation also in Protestant Hungary found violent opposition among the nobility.[16] The tensions of the Thirty-Years' War drew closer and closer, and many a sign of this political unrest can be found in Böger's letters. Eventually everything was settled and he was ready to start. In February, 1610, almost five years after the attack on his village, he wrote again to Claus Braidl, the elder, before leaving for Turkey. Bad news had infiltrated from everywhere; the imperial soldiers at the frontier who had not received their wages for a long time revolted, threatening pillage and war of their own. From Vienna came word that the new King Mathias did not intend to make good his concessions to the Hungarian Protestant nobility and citizens. Colonel Kollonitsch ordered Böger to warn the brethren in secret of the plots of the Counter Reformation. Unrest, suffering, and tension were everywhere. This is the contents of the last letter in the collection.

At the end of February, 1610, Böger traveled with his Turk through Slovakia toward Hungary. No more was heard from him

[15] On Seyfried von Kollonitsch see *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, by Wurzbach, Vol. XII, 1862, p. 369. Of course also all historical treatments of the time deal with his activities, as for instance: Franz Martin Mayer- R. Pirchegger, *Geschichte und Kulturleben Deutsch-Österreichs*, Wien, 1931, A. Huber, *Geschichte Österreichs bis 1648*. Vol. IV, Wien, 1892, Fessler-Klein, *Geschichte Ungarns, 1874-1877*. (Vol. IV), and so on. Also Loserth mentions his name several times. Kollonitsch was the owner of the estate Lewar in Slovakia, where a colony still exists inhabited by those Hutterites who in the eighteenth century were converted to Catholicism, the so-called "Habaner." Kollonitsch was a Calvinist as were most of the Hungarian nobles.

[16] This is one of the most dramatic parts of the history of the respective countries. Franz Grillparzer used it for his renowned play *Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg*. All historical treatments deal with these events, e.g. Fessler-Klein, *op. cit.*, IV, 102 f. See also Mihaly Zsilinszky's *History of the Hungarian Protestant Church*, Budapest, 1899, p. 174 f. (in Hungarian language).

after this time. The manuscript concludes in a postscript: "They said in the congregation that the Turk had murdered him on the road, thus ransoming himself." Full of melancholy the codex closes with the remark that "now also he will have found his rest on behalf of his wife."

Eight years later, in 1618, the tragic conflict between the Protestants and Catholics reached the stage of open war. In 1619 imperial troops invaded Moravia and destroyed the residences of the Protestant nobility as well as the colonies of the Hutterian Anabaptists.[17] Among the first victims of the new fury of war was also the Hutterian physician Balthasar Goller, the same who in 1608 gave Böger the great opportunity for his trip to Constantinople.

Here ends our story. It is an epic of genuine charity and faithfulness, full of inner tragedy. It is not fictitious, for life itself produced it. There is no space here for an evaluation of the manuscript from the historical as well as the human aspect. This hitherto completely overlooked book presents an unusual and lively picture of its time in general, and of the attitude and customs of the Hutterites in particular. A great theme goes throughout the whole book: compassion for the suffering victims of war. But the Anabaptist congregation in its martyr-mindedness did not grasp it and in fact criticized the undertaking of their brother. This was the real tragedy in the background of Böger's activities which were understood by nobody. Today we may be glad that a later period produced among Anabaptists and Mennonites a rather different spirit, namely that of unconditional charity toward all men, which eventually led to the great relief work projects of recent times. Salomon Böger, however, may truly be called the very first beginner of this type of work, unsuccessful though he was.

[17] The cavalry of general Count Dampierre (Dampierrschen Reiter). The *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brüder* gives many details on that event, cfr. ed. Beck, p. 378 f.

DUTCH MENNONITE RELIEF WORK IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES*

W. J. Kühler

We have not met for the purpose of a scholarly or learned conference. If I therefore am to have the honor of speaking to you about the relief which Dutch Mennonites of former centuries have bestowed on oppressed fellow believers in foreign countries, then you probably expect me to give a detailed account of this comprehensive subject. If I, however, pick out a few items it will suffice to make vivid to you what joy for sacrifice our forefathers showed, what blessing attended their work—but also how great at times their disappointment was.

Let me begin by taking you back to the year 1664. At that time the Flemish Mennonite Church in Amsterdam was experiencing anxious days. It was torn by inner dissensions, which finally resulted in division. The serious aspect of this was that the dissension involved doctrine and therefore in reality was a contention centering about the basic principle of Mennonite doctrine—freedom of conscience. The orthodox elements put the emphasis on the various dogmas, like the Trinity and the Reconciliation through Christ; the more liberal-minded did not want to hear of any rigid confession and considered denominational differences of small consequence. From 1664 on both parties existed as separate churches. It seemed that the brotherly bond had been torn forever.

Six years later, however, something happened which united those factions again, at least in one aspect. This occurred in the fateful year of 1672 when the Dutch Republic was on the verge of collapse because of a difficult war with France, England, Münster, and Cologne. During this time dispatches from Switzerland revealed that the Anabaptists there had been persecuted and driven out in a shocking manner. Immediately the Dutch brethren forgot their differences. Conservatives and liberals united to gather money to alleviate the need of the oppressed.

* A paper read at the World Mennonite Relief Conference, Danzig, Sept. 1, 1930, published in *Bericht über die Mennonitische Welt-Hilfs-Konferenz in Danzig,* Karlsruhe, 1930, pp. 39-44. Translated from the German by Jacob Sudermann, assistant Professor of German at Goshen College.

This incident has a twofold moral. The disagreeing Mennonites now clearly revealed that in their religious life they recognized something that was more important than orthodoxy and that Christian love could unite what incompatibility had separated. We of the Twentieth Century, however, can draw still another moral. We all know that we brethren, coming as we do from different countries and continents, can not agree in our confession. This need not worry us, for it is a necessary resultant of our basic principle of individual spiritual freedom. We know also that brotherly feeling need not suffer harm because of this and that we like our forefathers may unite in works of Christian love. In our time too, sad to say, religious persecution still rages; it rages in a country to whose boundaries we are now very close and where oppressed fellow believers cry out for our assistance.

The Swiss Mennonite aid of 1672 was not the only instance of relief work by our forefathers. Several more such occasions arose; ever greater sacrifices became necessary. In the process the Mennonites showed such a broad conception of their duty that they also supported the Reformed Church although this same church frequently persecuted them in their own country.

When Louis XIV recalled the Edict of Nantes and the Huguenots were subjected to the worst persecution, the Dutch Mennonites, especially, revealed unlimited activity for charity. It is important to note that the government of Amsterdam at that time depended on the generosity of Mennonite merchants and that almost half of the relief receipts at Haarlem were received from Mennonites.

The Mennonites naturally gave their own church members the greatest attention. It is common knowledge that in 1690 the French armies desolated the Palatinate. Of the 400 Mennonite families that lived there more than half (240) were robbed of their possessions. Leaving their ruined dwellings behind them, they sought refuge on some of the islands of the Rhine. There they dwelt in make-shift huts built of branches and suffered from lack of everything. Luckily help came from Holland. Again Mennonites of different branches united to solicit aid from their membership. While the money was sent to Frankfurt to be paid out to the leaders of the Palatinate churches, ships with grain and clothes sailed up the Rhine. In this crisis of 1690 the Dutch brethren contributed 30,000 guilders. This sum was almost doubled in the following years. Many Palatinate refugees found a haven in the seven Dutch provinces; in Amster-

dam alone one hundred forty of these arrived and were provided with all the necessities of life.

In the long run, however, it proved necessary to have a permanent treasury in order to administer the relief program effectively. For this purpose the well-known *Foundation for Foreign Relief* was organized in Amsterdam in 1710, which for almost one hundred years did a work richly blessed. There were, of course, various difficulties to overcome, especially those with the church at Rotterdam, before the *Foundation* could come into existence, but in the end brotherly feeling surmounted all obstacles.

I mentioned before that I could not give a complete history of my subject. It would tire you to listen to it. The stories are always the same stories of distress and oppression for which the Dutch Mennonite aid brought relief. In order, however, to give you an insight into the activity of the *Foundation,* I wish to cite three examples: the first of a successful aid project, the second of a necessary refusal of requested aid, the third of a complete failure in rendering aid.

In the year 1709 persecution in Switzerland raged worse than ever. The detention houses of Bern were overflowing with unfortunates; the inhuman treatment to which these people were exposed caused many to become sick and die. Day after day the rest lived in fear that the minority in the city council, which demanded their execution, might finally become the majority. However, because of the intercession of the Dutch government, for whose help our forefathers did not ask in vain, a solution of the problem was found. The council of Bern finally decided to send the captives to Rotterdam under a heavy military escort, so that they might be shipped from there to Pennsylvania in an English ship. On March 18, 1710, the exiled Mennonites left Bern; on the 28th they arrived at Mannheim with their transport. Here the military escort had to leave behind a few old and sick people; the rest arrived at Nijmwegen on April 6. Here, however, their suffering ended. One of the captives, accompanied by two soldiers, was permitted to visit the Dutch Mennonite Laurens Hendrik. Immediately this man appealed to the city magistrate, who without delay set all the unfortunate ones free. The Swiss could, of course, use no force on foreign soil; they had to release their captives and depart without having completed their task. The condition of the exiles was pitiable. They had spent twenty days in the confining quarters of the ship. Luckily they were inured to hardship. Their outward appearance caused surprise. They had

long beards which had never been cut; they wore unusual clothes and heavy shoes which were shod with iron and studded with great nails.

Later five more shiploads followed, so that the number of exiles increased to about 450. What was one to do with all these strangers here in the Netherlands? The States guaranteed their freedom, of course, but the necessities of life had to be provided by the Dutch Mennonites. A sum of 50,000 guilders was collected. The smaller church communities, also, faithfully collected for the unfortunate ones. Thus I found chronicled that in the southwest corner of Frisia a general collection was held for the exiled Swiss brethren as part of the communion service. In Hindeloopen the collection amounted to 228 guilders, in Workum 73, in Warns 80, in Stavoren 26, in Kondum and Molkwerum 20 guilders.

The problem now was, where to settle the newcomers. In Holland the opinion was to settle them in Frisia. The Frisian Society, however, was emphatically against this. Because of the activity of three men, whose names we can mention with reverence: Steven Cramer, Dirk Alles and Alle Dirk, it was agreed to settle the exiles at Groningen, Sappemeer, Bakkeween, Goredijk, Surhuistereen, and Kampen. In several of these places the Swiss established church communities and distinguished themselves by their cheerful and earnest piety. Later, a number of members moved to the Palatinate while others sought a new home in Pennsylvania. The remainder gradually assimilated themselves with the Netherland brethren. Today there are no longer any distinguishable signs of these Swiss. This work of love, however, had performed its usefulness; the brotherhood was able to look back on a successful demonstration of relief work.

I just said that some of the Mennonites went to Pennsylvania. They were enticed to go there by English agents who wished to have energetic colonists for their American property. They were given the most appealing promises; the most glorious future was pictured to them. All this not only attracted the exiles who had found a peaceful home here but it also attracted those unfortunate ones who still sighed under the burden of persecution in the Palatinate. The English had a practical way to do business. They advised the Palatinate brethren to go to Rotterdam. There they were to find ships; the rich Dutch were to pay the transportation and provide them with good equipment.

We are not surprised that the *Commission for Foreign Relief** had serious objections to this beautiful plan. It knew how much the exaggeration of the English was to blame; it knew that the emigrants would run great risk of being captured and sold as slaves because of the war between England and Spain. For this reason the Commission advised emphatically against the plan but to no avail. As the only answer to its fears the Commission received on March 20, 1717, the news that about 100 emigrants were on the way to Rotterdam. Three months later Rotterdam recorded that three hundred foreigners had arrived while others were preparing to follow. Although the Commission specifically declared that it was not supporting the project, it at the same time decided secretly to aid the emigrants as much as possible. It could not draw from its own treasury, of course; the necessary funds came from private sources.

This was a weakness which bore its own penalty. When Hubert Brouwer and his family received three hundred guilders for traveling expenses it was no longer possible to hold back the flood of emigrants. In great numbers they came from the Palatinate. They simply had to be helped when they arrived in Rotterdam. The Commission wrote to Pennsylvania and to the church at home to discourage this emigration from the pulpits. Naturally, these warnings had no result in Europe. Finally, when more than three thousand foreigners had arrived in Rotterdam, the Commission decided, on June 11, 1732, to give the Palatinate emigres only enough money to return to their own fatherland. This rule, strictly applied, permanently ended further emigration. A year later the Commission reports that it was no longer troubled by requests for passage money to North America. That was, as far as I know, the only case where aid was definitely denied.

Now I shall mention an example of failure in relief work. We turn for this to Lithuania. Everyone knows that King Frederick William I, who was crowned in 1718, took special pleasure in tall soldiers. This prince, to be sure, had granted the Mennonites freedom from military service, but his recruiting officers did not concern themselves about this in the least. Whoever, because of his stature, seemed useful to the service, whether he was Mennonite or not, was dragged off. Thus it happened that one night sixteen young people were routed from their beds to serve the king. Many pleas followed

[* The term "Commission" is used from this point on, in order better to translate the idea of an active agency].

until it was too much for the hot-tempered prince to endure. In 1724 he forbade anyone to remain longer in his country who refused his service. An emigration movement of Mennonites to Tannenberg alleviated the situation for only a short time—from here they were also driven in 1732. They decided to retreat to Holland, at that time the classical land of freedom. After a long and stormy sea voyage of three months one hundred ten refugees arrived in the same year at Amsterdam.

The *Commission for Foreign Relief* took hold of the difficult task with joyous fervor. It decided to found a colony for the emigrants at Wageningen in Gelderland. By means of large sums farmland was purchased at this place and houses were built. Supplied with all necessities—for the collections had attained to 65,000 guilders—the foreigners were able to settle comfortably in Wageningen and to begin a new life.

Sad to say, the well-meant effort failed pitifully. Several causes can be cited, but, if one asks for the basic reason, it seems to me, the following must be mentioned. The Lithuanians at this time were still very backward and consequently did not feel at home in highly cultured Holland. They had their own conceptions and could not adjust themselves to the practices of their new fatherland. They were in no respect bad people, even if one could blame their conduct in many ways. Since they, however, had received such special attention, they cradled themselves in the naive belief that they could have anything for the asking and that they could insist on so-called rights. Perhaps the Netherlands brethren were not quite guiltless. In the beginning they were very proud of the colony and had spoiled the colonists. The rich Amsterdam merchants visited the farms, conversed in a friendly way with the colonists, and gave them advice and presents. They, for instance, sent them tea, which came on their ships from India and was at that time an expensive luxury. No wonder that the Lithuanians began to look upon themselves as gentlemen and ladies in this rich Holland.

Very soon there were complaints that the women's dresses were too costly and that the men were lazy. Love of pomp and idleness, however, had never been a shortcoming. One could tell all sorts of stories, partly sad and partly humorous, showing what a peculiar spirit developed among these colonists. One case will suffice. Early one morning one of the brethren felt more like driving to Arnhem than to work. On his own responsibility he took a horse belonging

to the colony, but just after he had harnessed it to the wagon and thought to drive off, a neighbor stopped him and explained he had need of the horse for his plow. There were angry words and it almost came to blows. The Commission was much wrought up over this incident. "Did you people emigrate to this place because of the principle of nonresistance?" was its reprimand; "Was this to be expected of pious souls who preferred to suffer all rather than to stain their souls with action that was against their conscience?" This, however, was not the only disappointing experience of the Commission. Several Lithuanians moved to Zeeland, which had been pictured to them as the promised land. When they left they took as much as possible of the property of the colony with them, which had merely been loaned to them for their use. We do not wish to accuse them of theft. A pastor of those days expressed this opinion of them: "These people are not very intelligent and not especially capable of good judgment. For that reason, one must not interpret their weakness as a matter of evil." That is judging with love, and according to my opinion not incorrectly. The Lithuanians often showed great surprise when they were justly reproved. They were still like children and were characterized by the naughtiness and want of consideration peculiar to children. They could not, however, stay in Holland long. The intractability of their spiritual leader, Hans Jansen, who had absolute control and who tolerated no objections, made the situation impossible. By way of characterization, I want to quote a bit from his first and last letters to the Commission. In the first he writes, referring to the four Mennonite meeting places in Amsterdam: "The church 'The Sun' is a sun of righteousness, the Church 'The Tower' (The Gates) is a city on a high hill; the church 'The Lamb' gathers together the lambs of the Master, the church 'The Ark of Noah' protects the souls."—In his last letter, however, he writes: "For thirteen years I have lived in Poland during the difficult wars and have met Wallachians, Poles, Saxons, Swedes, Russians, and other heathen rabble, but never have I met such soul-murdering hypocrites in the world as in your Society." That was a sad end. The Society, however, had learned to know this man and did not return evil for evil. On the contrary, it demonstrated a peculiarly high conception of its responsibility. The colonists embarked on September 22, 1736, at Amsterdam and reached their homeland November 16. On their arrival each one received four hundred guilders, the proceeds of a collection for them.

The *Commission for Foreign Relief* continued its work throughout the whole of the eighteenth century. Luckily, the times changed; the more the Era of Enlightenment took root the less religious persecution there was. After the French Revolution with its consequent separation of church and state the *Commission* had fulfilled its mission. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was actually dissolved.

Will we have to call it back to life today? Let us hope that Russian barbarism remains an exception! One thing this history has taught us: In former centuries there was a strong feeling of solidarity. Their brotherly love might sometimes have lacked understanding but it always showed itself ready to sacrifice; its power was a practical God-fearing attitude. I speak in their name when I close with the plea that this practical God-fearing attitude may endure to the end.

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1926-1942

Nelson P. Springer

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